/109 cont./

842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

• • •

825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

/110 cont./

S25 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Goajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

S93 Behavior of the woman with her husband. The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /siembras/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /111/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

[49 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
436 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
437 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[569] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
781 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
● 825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
558 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[49 cont.]
from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater success than up to then.

Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness F455 is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted, 753 (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively ac-
● 825 cepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called soche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

2: Pineda Giraldo--66 E-6 (1947) 1950 [SC13 Geo]no SC13

[66 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 753 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they 755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If [757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 825 842 The meat of such a hen -- contaminated by the hawk which had eaten some of it -- is also harmful to children in general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

766 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 764 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered, for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[60 cont.]

825 843 845 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

843 825 [539] [61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples submitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women. The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[61 cont.]

825 843 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not invoke magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution [251] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
516 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
541 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Urifna (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urfriyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Wofriyú	partridge
Uyfrayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sfpwana	bittern

[63 cont.]

Family groups	Representative animals
Jayéciyá	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Apúsana	buzzard
Sijuana	wasp
Suryá	<u>catanoja</u>
Pásayá	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

1. <u>uri</u> or <u>wii</u> = snake
<u>wayú</u> = Indian, people

[63 cont.]

192	wriyú	= Indians (people of the snake)
614	2. urúchiser	= people of the snake
825	Wuradiru	= fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zittau (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghin).

[64]

	wayú	= Indian, people
	urúriyú	= people of the rattlesnake
3.	uri	= snake
	ana	= (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)
	uriána	= must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are karáira and kánahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyú family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pér; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyú – bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayú, "we")	=	our [masc., fem.]
oú	=	eye
uri	=	snake
yú (from wayú, Indian, people)	=	people

From which we can deduce that wouriyú can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyárayú group, we find another perfect
64 correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
125 family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

614 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
64 magic for which no [651] clearer explanation can be found than
825 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
843 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

825 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
843 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

843 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a
845 modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the traditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825] with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J.G. Frazer

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

[777] Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
●825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that
[484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[184] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[109 cont.]

551 [681] say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum decided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum [623] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 553 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

787 825 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[110 cont.]

787 nights and even can persist in this habit for years.

● 825 If on successive occasions a person should meet a bat when on the road, it is a sign that he will receive bad news on the way or on arriving at his destination, or that there will be a mishap at the place toward which he is traveling. Furthermore, if during the night he frequently hears a bat, death is approaching some person he knows.

In the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" we have already seen the relationship existing between snakes and pregnant women and a series of facts which place [111] ophidians in an exceptional position in Guajiro mentality, by virtue of the fear that this reptile inspires in the individual through the number of properties, usually malevolent, which are attributed to it. To this we must add the quality of animal omen, because if at dusk or during the night they see the trail of a snake without being able to capture it, the first person who sees the snake itself the following day will suffer the loss of a member of his family or some other misfortune. This happened, they say, to one of the girls in the Nazaret orphanage. One evening they found signs on the patio of the passing of a large snake. The girls looked diligently for it everywhere without being able to locate it, as they were convinced that if they did not find it that night, the first person to see it the following day would have trouble. As a matter of fact, the girls affirmed, the girl who encountered it suffered the loss of her grandmother within a short time.

But in this matter of what we have called omens, it is the birds that have the greatest influence. We could therefore speak of birds of good or bad omen in La Guajira. These birds announce future events according to the position they take up in certain circumstances, which the Guajiro interprets in his own way in accord with certain traditions and fixed rules, which their actions give us to understand. These do not constitute, so to speak, a rigid code, a pre-established and fixed law, but are rather to a certain extent products of chance and the native's imagination, who seeks in all the accompanying circumstances, logical or no, the explanation of any phenomenon. Whatever happens to him in his life is never without reason or cause.

[111 cont.]

787 825 Someone must know about these happenings and will communicate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the [753] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] — different from the one in the interior of the same name — which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 [797 628] members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 132 133 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For 789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 *756 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[113 cont.]

789 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the
*756 rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 But this is not the only method that the natives have at
178 their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which
821 the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices
●825 of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during
821 summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

541 536 796 [538] 5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

536 539 796 During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

825 241 536 796 The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

536 796

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[793] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo, which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the summer rains, is ſwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, ſwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidalte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [787] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[753] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arĵuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujá, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujá, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [159]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Ureus)
oxtongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
oxeye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:

104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (belonopterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochuilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culabra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspiciliata)

[159 cont.]
104 woodpecker (Ceophloeus lineatus)
192 domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)
825 partridge (Perdix rubra)
ray (Rajas batis) [160]
jaguar (félis onça)
troupial (f. Icteridae)
peccary (Pecarí)
fox (Canis azaroe)
curí (Cavia anolaimae)
mountain cat (margay tigrina)
deer (Cervus elaphus)

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kats*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *aimará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carcabuso cuyota-punahana*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting [illegible], divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Caledon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	Te-ita-in, my cup.	Tekiyara, my headdress.
Pachinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Nuchinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.

Uriana ..	Canahapar	Tiger	About Tarra and Bahia Honda.	
" ..	Arpaná	Rabbit	About Curo and Matumaylo coast.	
" ..	Guiupiral	A singing bird ..	Everywhere.	
" ..	Hebérta	Gecko (lizard) ..	Only in the plains.	
Epéyd ..	Guaruscho	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.	
Puliaina ..	Puicho ..	A species of small peccary.	Pamshi, Ataipa, and plains.	
Ipuana ..	Mushará ..	A sort of hawk ..	Portete Jarry, Cisyana, &c.	
Jayarid ..	Er ..	Dog	Macuira and plains.	
Juayd ..	Kashurta	Rat-snake	Tuta, Hayara.	
Arpashaina ..	Kasur ..	Vulture	Guinoma and plains, Cobora.	
Sapuana ..	Garina ..	Hen	Plains, Guarora.	
" ..	Cirral ..	A species of stork ..	(?)	
Epinayu ..	Uyára ..	A small buck ..	Portete, Hayarura.	
Jirua or Pleaf ..	Guariz ..	Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.	
Ferusna	Gliorgher or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture ..	Only in the Upper Goajira.	
Urariyd ..	Mára ..	Rattlesnake	Everywhere.	
Paumyd ..	Hucho ..	(?)	(?)	
Bijuana ..	Cíbri ..	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.	
Guariria ..	Guariz ..	Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.	
Guaária or Guau-uria.	Per ..	Partridge	Tarra and Upper Goajira.	
Arapainayd ..	Anuruana ..	Species of vulture ..	Upper Goajira only.	
Famurid ..	Hejepa ..	Owl	" "	
Arpuiata ..	Iarhú ..	Red cardinal bird ..	" "	
Uchanaid ..	Aru all Coaina Indians		Cobora hills only.	
Aranujuna ..	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.			
Gliorgu-riyd	Gliorgher or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.	

[262] N.B.—The Famurides, a very small caste, eat horsefish and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "guanher," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were really harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it.

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound.

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean,

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two and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

944 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [933] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [939] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [941] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [943] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

943 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [945] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

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The skulls of
horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits, which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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portent, they would usually summon a piache or a soothsayer in order to find out for certain. 787 825

Let us now leave medicine men, for it is time to go out on our travels again.

/537 cont./
614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824
821] /538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her m[illegible]e. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/538 cont./

614 212 773 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the

614 212 773 825 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 212 773 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 212 773 825 422 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.-Analyst]